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THE SOCIALIST REVIEW

AFTER ELECTION WISDOM

TOWN *versus* COUNTRY

"CZAR BRINDELL"

FRANCE GERMANY JAPAN
SOUTH AMERICA

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THE SOCIALIST REVIEW

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The Clothing Trade Crisis

ONCE again in its six short years of life the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America faces a grave crisis in the clothing industry.

Public buying on any large scale has practically ceased. Retail stores are either making vivid price-cuts in the advertising columns of the newspapers, or are cancelling their orders of the manufacturers. The latter are holding off from buying woolen cloth until the price of the latter falls, or public buying recuperates. Finally the textile mills, led by the American Woolen Company, are passing the burden of deflation still further along by closing their doors for the second time this season, hoping thereby to hold up the price of cloth or force down the cost of materials and labor. Meanwhile the workers suffer, as usual, by widespread unemployment and by furtive or open wage cuts and hour increases. In New York alone seventy to eighty per cent. of the clothing industry is shut down and the rest running only on part time.

The Amalgamated which, since its formation in 1914, has won the forty-four hour week, abolished the evil of the piece work system and sweat shop overspeeding, and mitigated the worst seasonal character of the industry, now has to meet a series of seven demands by the Clothing Manufacturers Association of New York.

Pleading their inability to compete on equal terms with manufacturers in other clothing centers, the New York Association declares that wages in New York are fifty per cent. higher than elsewhere, that the week work system in vogue in New York has no measure of output to balance the tendency to "soldier" on the job, and that discipline of the New York workers is less easy than in other cities. The manufacturers demand:

(1) The right to install piece work.

(2) Scales prevailing in other clothing markets to be basis for New York.

(3) Cooperation of workers asked in maintaining individual records of production in shops and cutting rooms.

(4) Individual standards of production for week workers in shops and cutting rooms.

(5) Right of manufacturers to change contractors.

(6) Adequate freedom to discipline and hire workers and to introduce improved machinery.

(7) Agreement maintained by the union in other markets in which adjusting machinery is functioning successfully to be made the basis of relationship between the Association and the union.

As far as standards of production are concerned President Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated has always contended that the only way for his union to hold power in the industry is to take responsibility for standards of output under the weekly wage ("week work") system. Hillman, however, would have these standards laid down and administered through the Amalgamated rather than by the individual employer. This is already done in large shops like Henry Sonneborn's of Baltimore, where over three thousand workers are employed. Secretary Schlossberg of the Amalgamated declared at the last convention held in the early summer of 1920, "The industry is ours. It yields us our livelihood. We can have no chaos in it save to our own injury. The problem of standards is our own. We cannot evade it." The convention carried a resolution to that effect, empowering the executive to study production standards and formulate ways of introducing them into the industry, by a vote of 178 to 88.

There is, therefore, little likelihood of a contest upon the idea of production standards provided it is the Amalgamated that guaran-

tees and administers such standards. The chief opposition comes on (1), (2) and (5). Piece work, with its peril of a return to sweat shop conditions, will not be accepted under any circumstances without a bitter fight. In the second case New York has always been the key city in the industry. Gains and losses in New York are passed along to other clothing cities with slight local modification. To agree to the second demand would, therefore, imply a nation-wide reduction in standards. Demand (5) looks innocuous on its face. Actually New York manufacturers give out a large part of their work to contractors, under agreement as to price. If they could threaten such contractors with cancellation of future trade it would mean a probable conflict of cost-cutting (including wages), and above all the constant possibility of unemployment on the part of the workers in the shops of all such contractors who "got left" by the manufacturers.

The issue, in short, lies between the manufacturers' desire to be more free in their business, and the fear by the workers that such relaxation of their union customs will open the door to all the evil conditions and industrial chaos of pre-war days. The resignation of Major Gitchell, labor manager to the employers' association, and all his staff forebodes a bitter fight between the Association and the Amalgamated, for with the Major's resignation the extremists seem to be in the saddle. W. H. C.

What the I. W. W. is up Against

THE full harvest of the hysterical attacks on the I. W. W. is yet to be reaped. The members prosecuted in the three federal cases are on the point of knowing whether they will be in or out in the years ahead. That depends largely on the outcome of the appeal in the Chicago case. The Court of Appeals upheld the conviction of the 101 on precisely the same grounds as other war cases under the espionage and draft acts. It threw out the charges which were peculiar to the case, those alleging interference with the execution of war contracts. To that extent the decision was clear gain over the original verdict, and it affords an effective basis for including the I. W. W. in the releases of political prisoners.

As a final move, the U. S. Supreme Court will be asked in January to review the case. There is small chance of it, though lawyers say the Court of Appeals did some clever gymnastics to beat the constitutional provisions. The appeal in the Sacramento case has already been affirmed. The Wichita case is yet to be heard on appeal. Of the 166, 102 are in Leavenworth Penitentiary, and the others out on appeal bond.

Such are the results today of three newspaper trials and verdicts, in which not a single case of violence was proved, in which the sabotage charges never got as far as the jury, and in which the ordinary I. W. W. activities of years' standing were made into crimes to obstruct the war.

But these federal cases are only the smallest part of the harvest of reaction. The states took up the job where the federal government left off. Under the thirty-five criminal syndicalism and sedition acts, over a thousand members of the I. W. W. are now either convicted or held for trial. In the northwest lumber states the prisons and jails are full of them. A bitter war of extermination is on, especially in California, Oregon, Washington, Kansas, and Illinois. Where the labor movement is strong and the radical forces work closely with the regular trades-unionists, as in Montana, there are no prosecutions. No jury has ever convicted in Montana under the criminal syndicalism law, for the line-up between the Anaconda Copper Co. and the workers is too clear.

Yet despite three years of persecution, unparalleled in the history of American labor, the I. W. W. still goes on, full of virility, uncompromising (despite some Communist observation to the contrary) confident, unbroken. There are open propaganda halls in eleven cities. There are defense committees in seven more. Every defense meeting is an occasion for spreading the philosophy of

revolutionary industrial unionism. The craft unions are more and more honeycombed with I. W. W. ideas as the old forms fail to meet new industrial organization. The two-card men, working from within the old-line unions, are probably more numerous than ever. And in the logging camps of the northwest, where the I. W. W. is in fact a labor union as distinguished from propaganda agency elsewhere, the spirit of the men is undaunted despite shut-downs, prosecutions and the necessity of working underground.

The hysteria has let up as the forces of reaction feel themselves victorious. Bill Haywood speaks in almost any city of the country without interference. In July he spoke in Oregon and Washington, in the heart of the criminal syndicalist territory, to audiences of thousands, and without the pack at his heels. But the active men in the woods and the mills no longer operate in the open, and the soap-boxer is merely a memory.

The I. W. W. will survive, regardless of the courts and the persecution. Its function meets the needs of too many driven and rebellious workers, who find in it the only fellowship in American labor.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

More Farmer-Labor Cooperation

THE law passed at the last elections in North Dakota, allowing the withdrawal of local public funds from the state bank, has resulted in the failure of several private banks in the state because they could not get the usual help from the state bank. The Bank of North Dakota, and through it the people, are further menaced by the financial boycott established against the bank. Commercial credit and capital have been almost entirely shut off.

The organized farmers of the Nonpartisan League, who suffer with or without the profiteers from every tightening of credit, are now appealing to the labor organizations of the country for loans and deposits. The League has put through many reforms and advanced labor laws outside its own class interests, has in fact come more than halfway toward class solidarity of producers. It is to be hoped that the workers will meet the farmers in this crisis, to their mutual advantage.

M. W. T.

The Debs Vote

WHILE complete election returns are not available at present writing, the vote cast in November, 1920, for the national ticket of the Socialist Party in 41 states, based on fairly accurate reports from 27 states and a conservative estimate of the vote in 14 states, gives a total of about 920,000, as compared with a socialist vote of 597,000 in 1916 and of 874,691 in 1912.

The comparatively small returns this year, according to the New York *Call*, is due to "the dictatorship of capitalist reaction," which has destroyed socialist organizations in many states, to the widespread neglect and fraud in the handling of the vote and to splits within the party. The fact that nearly a million votes were cast and counted indicates to the paper "that the Socialist movement cannot be crushed by jails, gags, or deportations."

H. W. L.

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The Socialist Crisis in France[1]

Paul Vaillant-Couturier

THE debate over the Third International, now preoccupying the French Socialist Party, will very probably find its conclusion at the December conference in a scission, or more exactly in a rupture of the pact of unity signed in 1905 between the *Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Revolutionnaire,* the *Parti Socialiste de France,* the *Parti Socialiste Français,* and the autonomous federations of Bouche du Rhône, Bretagne, Herault, etc.

The pact of 1905, which represented a union for purposes of action by a number of wholly distinct organisms, a union based on the mutual acceptance of a minimum program, could never be considered as an actual or even an eventual union of party tendencies. At a period, however, of no great social or political crisis, the Second Socialist International—primarily an organization for the diffusion of ideas and propaganda—was able to include a multiplicity of tendencies whose diversity offered an appeal to widely varying temperaments—a fact which favored the recruiting of party members and at the same time rendered extremely difficult the task of educating them in party doctrines.

In like manner the Unified Socialist Party of France was able to offer those who were shocked by the violence of a Hervé denying the principle of national defense and demanding direct action, or by the uncompromising attitude of a Jules Guesde proclaiming that "by multiplying reforms one merely multiplies deceitful appearances," the conciliatory policy of Jaurès, who maintained that, by participation in the government of state or municipality, the proletariat could "influence the march of production and the organization of labor and exchange."

This was the academic period of French socialism. There remained, however, a wide divergence among the doctrines that went to make up unified socialism. Representing at the same time the conflicting principles of revolution and of reform, the party continued to build, not on a single block, but rather on a mosaic. The election of 1913—100 socialists in parliament—gives the measure of success of the pact of unity, whose dangerous fragility remained to be demonstrated by the world crisis of 1914.

Socialists Enter War Government

The world of 1914, with its quasi-equilibrium in the wealth of nations, in no way permitted the Second International to play the part which it had marked out for itself in case of armed conflict. No resistance was possible on the part of the masses who, recently organized, encountered without a plan, the formidable organization of the competing capitalisms and were forced to submit to the law of the strongest. Once the masses were mobilized, militarism seized the leaders.

That same "defense nationale" invoked by all the countries at war served as immediate justification for the participation of socialist leaders in the war machine—participation which had been already foreseen "under exceptional circumstances," and which went all the way from voting the war credits to accepting the portfolio of minister. In the confusion which followed the assassination of Jaurès, the declaration of war, and the collapse of Hervéism, the ideas of Jaurès came into the foreground and triumphed over those of Guesde. The defeat of one of the tendencies united the party leaders. Jules Guesde himself accepted office in a "defense nationale" cabinet. Sembat and Albert Thomas, both disciples of Jaurès, did as much.

[1] By the time this article is published the French Socialist Party at Tours will probably have made its decision in regard to the Third International. This article by a Socialist deputy and editor will furnish an excellent background to the entire French situation.

Anti-War Sentiment

It was only little by little, as certain of the mobilized socialists returned from the front, wounded or on furlough, that a current opposed to collaboration and the "union sacrée" began to make itself felt in the party. The first positive evidence of the presence of this new element was the pacifist resolution of the federation of Haute Vienne in the second year of the war. Among the anti-militarists, the group Longuet, Mayeras, Pressemane, etc., preserved a point of contact with that of Thomas, Guesde, and Renaudel. Both elements accepted the doctrine of "defense nationale" and the vote of war credits. The pacifist group of Longuet embarked in a courageous struggle against the war, which, however, they could still be said in a measure to support. At the same time that this faction was developing, a third element came into being. This new group demanded the survival of the workers' international and refused participation of any sort in the activity of the war-machine, which was to be stopped at any cost. It affirmed its action at the meeting at Kienthal. This conference followed closely upon that of Zimmerwald, which in turn had been called by certain syndicalists, important among whom was Meerheim, then in opposition to the governing bureau of the General Confederation of Labor. Three French deputies (Brizon, Alexander Blanc, Raffin Dugens) represented this element which, while opposed violently by the general staff of the party, grew daily in favor among the troops.

Effect of Russian Revolution

Such was the condition of the French Socialist Party at the moment of the Russian revolution: an active conflict among the leaders, who were approved or disapproved with passion by the skeleton federations at the rear.

The Russian revolution was not long in revealing its sympathy with the principles developed at Kienthal. Those uncompromising Marxists, Lenin and Trotsky, were both members of that party which, at the outbreak of hostilities, alone among the socialist parties in Europe, had refused in the Duma to vote the war-credits. The effect of the revolution was soon felt in the French Socialist Party. The majority made a rapid shift to the left. Since the war still continued after the failure of the Stockholm conference, of which the party centrists had been the chief champions, the socialist majority directed all its efforts towards obtaining a prompt peace. The principles outlined by Mr. Wilson found ready favor with the centrists who from the first appeared to confound these principles with those which were formulated by the Russian maximalists. The war ended and delegates of the French Socialist Party attended the conference at Berne, where Branting in his opening speech associated the personality of Wilson and the memory of Jaurès. Shortly afterwards the first congress of the communist international or the Third International was held at Moscow.

Three Factions Develop

The party ever since has been sharply divided in three factions or tendencies, bound together by a mere outward appearance of unity. The group of the *Vie Socialiste* behind Albert Thomas and Renaudel remained faithful to the Second International and continued to honor the doctrines of government collaboration and ministerialism, being at the same time characterized, it must be said, by a certain degree of chauvinism. For this element reform had become an end rather than a means; they denied all possibility of a social revolution and established a close relationship with the bourgeois Radical Party.

The group of the Reconstruction, Longuet, Paul Faure and other centrists, proclaimed the necessity of combining certain principles of class conflict with certain practices of class collaboration, and invited the two internationals which in certain countries had taken arms against each other to unite in a single body.

The committee of the Third International with Loriot, Souvarine, Alexander Blanc and Raymond Lefebvre, affirmed the necessity of

revolutionary preparation based on Russian experience, a proletarian dictatorship in place of a bourgeois dictatorship, denied the validity of the doctrine of national defense in a capitalistic regime, and demanded that the party purge itself of reactionary elements and adhere to the Third International.

Abandonment of Second International

At the socialist congress held in Strassburg last February, the motion of the centrists obtained the majority. The French Socialist Party decided to abandon the Second International, which it condemned, but refused to join forces with the Third, the principles of which, however, it admitted. It invited all parties composing the two internationals to participate in a congress of reconstruction, and authorized certain of its militants to undertake the steps necessary to this end.

It was thus that the two centrists Frossard, Secretary of the Party, and Cachin, Deputy of Paris and Managing Editor of *l'Humanité,* were sent to Moscow. They returned convinced of the necessity of adhering to the Third International, and persuaded that the tentatives of Reconstruction were doomed to failure in view of the opposition encountered from the right as well as from the left.

Crisis in France

Today at the eve of the Congress at Tours, the situation may be outlined as follows: It is more or less of an open secret that France is rapidly losing the confidence of the world. Her financial situation is critical and gives every evidence of soon becoming desperate. Her economic situation is lamentable. One cannot but admit that the lack of equilibrium —economic as well as political and social— is rapidly creating a revolutionary situation throughout the country. Since the demobilization of the army, large masses of men have entered the Socialist Party, influenced for the most part by a strong reaction against a war capitalistic in origin. Pacifist from the first, they grouped themselves logically behind the centrists, but little by little under the pressure of existing circumstances and the encouragement of the far flame of Russian realization, they are becoming convinced of the necessity of a more revolutionary doctrine. They can conceive of no pacific solution as possible in the face of the present crisis and they demand discipline and revolutionary preparation in order to cope with the revolutionary situation which seems imminent.

The Groups Rearranged

Thus the dispute has arisen between the new and the old elements of the party. What especially characterizes the present situation of the party is the discord existing between a large faction of the masses and their leaders of yesterday. The great majority of the socialist representatives in the Chamber have taken sides against the Third International. Their attitude is explicable, given the views of Moscow on parliaments in general. While certain of the representatives, among whom may be counted the former deputy Longuet, would accept the twenty-one conditions of Moscow if those which concern certain individuals were less stringent, others like Leon Blum, deputy of Paris, who voted at Strassburg that none of the theses of Moscow is in contradiction with the essential principles of socialism, now declare that they were mistaken and reject not only the twenty-one conditions of entrance to the Third International, but the theses of Moscow as well.

A regrouping is now taking place in the socialist general staff, a logical regrouping of temperaments and doctrines. The elements of the Reconstruction group which incline farthest to the right are approaching the faction of the *Vie Socialiste,* raising between themselves and the advocates of the Moscow International a barrier more and more difficult to cross. Their leaders are Longuet and Paul Faure, their organ the daily *Populaire.* On the other hand, the left of the Reconstruction—with Frossard, Cachin, Daniel Renoult, and Paul Louis—have cast their lot with the committee of the Third International and are seconding with their authority the weight of a movement which they believe irresistible. Three members of the committee, Loriot, Souvarine, and Monatte, are still

in prison under the charge of participation in an imaginary plot against the safety of the state—a fact which, in the eyes of the masses, has augmented rather than diminished the importance of the faction which they represent.

A Forecast

Thus at the present hour the French Socialist Party offers a spectacle of apparent confusion, which will, however, be clarified within a very short time. One cannot predict with any degree of certainty the results of the congress at Tours, but it is very possible that the Third International will win out and that the party will expel from its ranks the elements opposed to a communist discipline. Such action will represent not so much a party schism as the breaking down of a false unity and the recognition of a situation which already exists. In so far as the subsequent program of the party is concerned, the communist leaders realize that their next great task will be that of uniting the political with the trade union movement—two forces which in France have always been divided. Once this union is accomplished, the Socialist Party may march with disciplined step towards the realization of a revolutionary doctrine, in a country where the social revolution has too often been considered as an oratorical asset for public meetings rather than as a necessity for which we must prepare by all the means in our power.

"Czar Brindell"

Jean Murray Bangs

SINCE the beginning of the war, the housing situation in New York City has been growing more and more acute. The first development was merely overcrowding, but the second stage brought profiteering by the landlords to such an extent that hundreds of families were actually rendered homeless by inability to pay the rents demanded. Normally, relief in such a situation would have come through the building of new houses, yet in spite of the urgent need, practically no building has been done.

Finally the people went to Albany for help. Their appeal brought forth two measures: the Landlord Tenant laws, to regulate the rents in houses already built; and the Lockwood Investigating Committee, to find out why no building was being done, and to propose a legislative program which would stimulate the building of houses in New York City.

At the beginning of the investigation, Samuel Untermyer, counsel for the Committee, said that the investigation would probably show the following:

"1. A banding together among material men in separate associations in each of the thirty-two lines engaged in building materials, from the manufacturer down to the retailer, and then banding together as the Building Materials Employers' Association.

"2. Labor drag-netted into the New York Building Trades Council in many instances, and employers drag-netted into the Employers' Association, by the relations that exist between the New York Building Trades Council and the New York Building Trades Employers' Association."

During the time which has elapsed since Mr. Untermyer made this statement, everything which he predicted has been found true. The exact story of the relation between the Building Trades Council and the Employers' Association; how labor was drag-netted into one association and capital into another, together with the extent of these associations, and their consequences for the public, has supplied the New York papers with headlines for a month. But besides verifying Mr. Untermyer's prophecy, the papers have done more. They have provided it with the necessary appeal to the American imagination—with a hero. In this instance it is the president of the New York Building Trades Council, the man who held absolute sway over the building industry, "Czar Brindell." Employers and public are represented in the papers as subjects of this czar.

Now, it is a matter of common historical knowledge that where one man holds absolute power, like a czar, there is apt to be a power behind the throne, and to be court intrigues, such as are only published in the memoirs of noted statesmen or the diaries of aristocratic ladies, who are not supposed to see such things. This czar and his empire run true to type, except for the fact that their inner story is easily traced by any person in the least familiar with such courts.

Their first rule of diplomacy is that bosses like to deal with union officials who have great power in their organizations. Such business agents can force their men to keep a contract if necessary, and also (since human nature is weak, and the power of money is strong) can be induced to quell strikes far more successfully than injunctions or police courts or any other part of the machinery of "law and order." Big business is learning, furthermore, the possibilities of using the power of the folded hands for its own purposes. There are instances on record of companies gaining pre-eminence in their line by means of a strike arranged in a rival concern at just the proper time. And now that employers' associations are the means of regulating competition, independent employers can be driven into the fold by the same power. When Brindell came to New York and began to be prominent in the Dock Workers' Union, he knew all this.

At that time the power in the Building Trades Unions lay in the hands of three boards of business agents, operating in Queens, Manhattan, and the Bronx. These boards roughly paralleled the centralized organization of the Building Trades Employers' Association, though each union still had a separate agreement with the Employers' Association.

Diplomatic Intrigue

When, after a series of manoeuvres, described in the New York *Call* for November 18, 1920, Brindell got control of the New York Carpenters' District Council, the largest single union in the building trades, and so of the Boards of Business Agents, he consolidated them into one organization, and put himself at the head. With the members of the Council handpicked, as they were, Brindell was now in possession of the power the employers like to see in the man they deal with.

His first step was to stabilize the industry by making one agreement for all its unions, instead of thirty different agreements expiring at thirty different times, and causing thirty different interruptions in the trade. So far, so good. But in this agreement of January, 1920, Brindell showed his true calibre as he had shown it previously in the carpenters' strike. He bound the men for a one dollar a day increase, to begin on January 1, 1921, when the slogan of the trade was for ten dollars a day for the five day week, a thing which the painters had already achieved. It was not long before the Painters' Local began to suffer for its boldness in getting more than the Brindell scale. Brindell declared that it had broken the agreement, and created another local to take its place in the Building Trades Council.

The only other local in the Council besides the painters, which did not get the exact scale, was Local 40, of the Structural Bridge and Iron Workers, which worked under open shop conditions, without a word of protest from the Council. It was a curious coincidence that the Erectors' Association, a branch of the steel trust, was never on very good terms with the Building Trades Employers' Association, and that the big association was powerless to make the iron men recognize the union. Even so, one would have thought that the Czar of the industry, the man who had vanquished all the big employers, could have vanquished this one association. But apparently he never cared to try. It would have been too bad to spoil the fine spirit which existed between the Council and the Employers' Association by a little dispute involving the United States Steel Corporation.

Whenever an agreement was to be entered into between the Association and the union, the unwritten part of the agreement was that the union should help the Associated Employers to beat the independent men. If a job were to be gotten it was to go to the

Association men. If a member of the Association wanted to break away, business agents of the unions were immediately called upon to take action, to see that the stray member was returned to the fold.

In return for these services, Brindell was given the general support of the Employers' Association. In addition, members were willing to pay "strike insurance"; debts which they didn't remember ever having made, and were sometimes even so careless as to leave a thousand dollars or so lying around loose in Brindell's car. But what they did with greater pleasure than this was to stand back of Brindell when he went into the house-wrecking business.

Since the house wreckers did not belong to the Building Trades Council, Brindell decided to make a local which should be affiliated, and rule that no building could be erected upon any site unless the old building had been demolished by the members of the Brindell union. The building employers always backed Brindell in his demands. The house-wrecking firms were not members of their association, so the fact that Brindell's men were utterly incompetent did not bother them a bit. It was an easy chance to help their man at the other fellow's expense. When the house wrecking employers were completely at Brindell's mercy, he forced them to pay $50 initiation fee to let members of the old house wreckers' union into his organization, and also taxed the men $10 a week for permits to work. All this proved quite a lucrative business. The judge who fixed the bail for Brindell, after his recent indictment, estimated that he had gotten away with about $1,000,000 in the past year.

The Power Behind the Throne

In the meantime the poor employers who were under the yoke of this Czar still had power enough left to fix the prices of materials. After the housing investigation was made certain, brick, limestone and marble fell in price, so that the Fuller Company estimated a saving of $155,000 on two jobs. $25,000 was saved on the Manhattan Hotel, and $87,000 on another job. The bid on the court house had been jumped from $1,663,165 to $2,372,000, in order that the contractor might split the profits with eight other employers, the ring known as the Sacred Circle of Nine, which controlled limestone prices. This meant a profit of $708,836 on one deal alone, making the total profit of $975,836 on five deals, or an amount practically equalling the highest estimate of all the money taken in by Brindell from every source, legitimate or otherwise. In addition to this, according to the testimony of Hugh White, representing the George A. Fuller Company, a $40,000,000 concern, the building material interests have established one standard price for sand, lime, bulk gravel, cement and supplies, regardless of the place or specification. Since the investigation, prices have dropped 30%.

These cases could be multiplied indefinitely. Only a few are given here to show how the Building Trades Employers, with the desire to help an industry which is being encouraged by the city, state and nation, fare when their Associations are held up by a labor Czar. No, Brindell was not the power at all. He merely served as the tool and now the scapegoat of interests much more powerful than himself. Crooked as some such "labor leaders" have been shown to be, it is not labor which has been primarily responsible for holding up the construction of houses in New York City.

Town Versus Country in Europe

Alfred G. Baker Lewis

EUROPE has been devastated by the peace treaties as well as by the war. Everything has been done, it seems, to impede the economic recovery of the continent: by balkanizing middle Europe and thus destroying its essential economic unity, by starving the German and German-Austrian people so that they are unable to do good

work, by taking from them such capital equipment as ships and rolling-stock, and by denying to them the raw materials without which they cannot work and of course cannot produce an indemnity.

Even before the war the European countries had a much lower average standard of living than had the United States. Their relative position is now greatly worsened; both because of the greater destruction and depreciation of capital equipment in Europe than in the United States, and because the national debts of all the European belligerents, a considerable part of which is owed to the United States or to neutrals, constitute a much larger proportion of their total wealth than does the national debt of the United States. Of all the larger European belligerents the only one that is attempting to balance its budget by taxation without resort to a capital levy is Great Britain, and in that country the *per capita* annual tax burden for the national government is £22 or about $80.00, compared with $49.00 in the United States.

Of course, the result of such a situation is a lowered standard of living. In Germany and Austria, not to speak of Russia, it means severe starvation and an increase in the death rate, which makes a loss of life due to all sorts of German atrocities a mere bagatelle.

The most significant social result of this situation is the direct opposition of interest between town and country which exists in most European countries. In politics this opposition is extremely clear, because the majority of the town workers in every country, and in some countries the overwhelming majority, are socialist, while the peasants are the backbone of reactionary political groups, which are usually under clerical leadership and violently anti-Semitic. As the industrial workers of the towns are probably not a clear majority in any country except England and perhaps Prussia, the apparently increasing determination of the industrial workers to achieve socialism in the near future seems unlikely to succeed by peaceful means.

Poverty of Towns

The economic aspects of the situation are even more significant. The producers of food are finding that the towns are steadily calling on them for food as formerly with less than they formerly had to offer in exchange. Speaking in generalized terms, the lack of raw materials, of food, and of transportation facilities throughout all central Europe has made it very difficult to offer the grower of food any commodities in return for his product that in any way approach the amount he was accustomed to receive. The result is a lessened production of foodstuffs, which in turn still further reduces the productive efficiency of the industrial population and makes them still less able to produce what the peasant proprietor wants.

In Russia

In Russia the peasant is starving the towns to a very large degree, despite some slight good results from propaganda carried on through the co-operatives. In Great Russia the feeling between town and country is less antagonistic than in the Ukraine. The reason is that the peasants of Great Russia to some slight degree apparently feel under a debt of gratitude to the bolsheviki, who represent fairly faithfully the interests of the industrial workers, because the bolsheviki supported their demand to drive out the landlords. As they were used in the Mir to communal methods of land ownership and exploitation, they have not been severely repelled by the insistent bolshevik propaganda for the communal working of the land. But the transportation system has broken down and what little there is must be used for the needs of the army.

The supply of raw material, especially cotton from the Crimea and Turkestan and coal from the Donetz basin, has been cut off during most of the time that the bolsheviks have been in control of the soviets, and the energies of the town population are taken up in making munitions. Hence the peasants are unable to get anything in return for their produce, and have greatly decreased produc-

tion. Still further starvation results. Although the peasants apparently benefited from the soviet régime and to some extent made common cause with the bolsheviks in establishing it, we now find Lenin stating that the "peasant egotism must be broken at all costs."

Greater Opposition in the Ukraine

In the Ukraine the situation appears to be still worse owing to the fact that the peasants there took possession of the land without waiting till the bolsheviks controlled the soviets, and have tenaciously held on to it through successive waves of red, white and foreign armies. They therefore feel under no obligation to the bolsheviks, and are repelled by the latter's propaganda for communal ownership, because they are used to individual ownership. Moreover, their antagonism to the towns is increased by anti-Semitism because a large proportion of the town population in this part of Russia is Jewish.

Hungarian and Austrian Peasants

In Hungary I am reliably informed that the steady pressure of peasant opposition was largely responsible for the fall of Bela Kun's régime and that even the Horthy government is forced to use the military to requisition food from the country.

In German-Austria the peasants strongly oppose the sending of food to Vienna and the other large cities. They cannot understand why they should be required to support a parasitic population. They are largely justified in their feeling because Vienna is badly under-employed and is producing very little. What she does produce will have to be exported to pay the indemnity. The situation is so bad that the Entente countries have been compelled to grant credits to Austria, and in return have taken control, through the Reparation Commission, of the finances of the country, and thus indirectly of its property and production, a somewhat curious situation for a supposedly sovereign state.

The antagonism between town and country is also greatly increased in Austria by the intense political rivalry between the reactionary Christian Socialists (who are not socialist at all) representing the peasants, and the Social Democrats representing the industrial workers. Both these parties are of about equal strength in Austria's Diet and have formed a very unstable coalition in governing that unhappy country.

The German Question

In Germany, too, the opposition of interest between town and country is considerable. Owing to lack of many sorts of raw material formerly imported as well as of coal and rolling stock, the same situation exists as is seen in Soviet Russia, although, of course, in a much less degree. In Prussia, where there are still big landed estates, there is a certain amount of fellow-feeling between the agricultural workers and the socialist workers of the towns. That merely means that the economic and political opponents of the socialist workers are the large landed proprietors instead of the peasant proprietor. The former, however, because of their smaller number, are politically less powerful.

In Bavaria the economic opposition between town and country is accentuated by the political antagonism between the socialist workers and the Bavarian Peasants' League. This league is under clerical leadership and rather reactionary, and, apparently, in favor of loosening the bonds that tie Bavaria to Prussia.

Diminished Food Production

The statistics of food production in Germany are instructive: For live stock, the total number of cattle in 1913 and 1919 respectively were 21.0 million head and 16.3 million head. For pigs the figures were: 1913, 25.7 million head; 1919, 11.5 million head. Nor does that tell the whole tale. The average weight when slaughtered was as follows:

	Oxen	*Calves*	*Pigs*	*Sheep*
Pre-war	250 kg.	40 kg.	85 kg.	22 kg.
Jan., 1919	160 kg.	31 kg.	63 kg.	15 kg.

The harvest in 1919 fell off from pre-war figures 40% in grain, 50% in potatoes, and 60% in raw sugar within the confines of the new Germany. The production of milk, which is vitally essential to child health, fell

from 24.4 billion litres to 9 billion litres. The difficulty of getting the farmers to send to the cities their fair proportion of this small amount may be seen from the fact that, whereas the 1919 production of milk is 37% of the pre-war figures, Berlin received in 1919 only 17½% of her pre-war supply.

Depression in Industry

This decrease in food production is partly due to the inability of German industry to produce things to exchange for the farmers' food. A measure of the idleness of German industry may be obtained from the fact that in Berlin on July 15 there were 357,143 persons unemployed. The slackness in production is due in turn partly to decrease in coal production, which fell from 197,000,000 tons in 1913 to 108,000,000 in 1919. Of the latter figure 24,000,000 is due to France and other amounts to Belgium and Italy.

Other factors in this situation are the crippling of Germany's transportation system by the peace treaty terms, the inability to purchase needed raw material abroad on account of the depreciation of the mark to about one-eighth its former value, the lack of a merchant marine, and the sheer starvation and depression of German workers. Lack of manures, especially phosphates and nitrates, is also an important cause. These two classes of manures were almost entirely imported prior to the war and paid for by the products of German industry or by the earnings of her merchant marine. On account of the disappearance of the merchant marine and the general depression of industry, these manures cannot be imported in the required quantities. The whole situation constitutes a vicious circle.

Attempted Regulation

With such a terrible shortage of food as is here portrayed, it is clear that prices would be utterly beyond the reach of the industrial worker if they were not controlled. In fact, therefore, the German government is forced to attempt rigidly to control the price and ration the amount of food; if not because of the influence of the socialist parties, then in order to prevent a revolution. The farmer naturally resents this. He tries to evade the government regulations, and, aided by the town profiteers, is so largely successful that, in most of the German cities, a rich man can buy all he wants at expensive hotels, especially those frequented by foreigners, by paying enormous prices.

The government is unable to purchase food from abroad in any considerable quantity because present exchange rates make the price in marks enormous. If the government attempts to sell at cost food secured from abroad, no one but the richest can buy. Selling this food at less than cost puts a great strain on the finances of the government, a strain that it will be totally unable to bear if it is required to pay any considerable amount of monetary indemnity. The strain on the finances of the country is now met by the issue of more paper money. This has a tendency to keep the exchange value of the mark from rising, and thus again forms a vicious circle.

The Allies have recognized the inability of German workers to produce any large quantity in their present famished condition, and have granted Germany credits to buy foodstuffs with which to fatten up her Ruhr miners, so that they may be able to hand over a larger coal indemnity.

In France and Italy

In France the conflict of interest between town and country is less serious, though it exists, especially in the peasant opposition to the socialism of the town workers. In the devastated regions, city and country suffered together. In the remainder of France the peasants as a class seem to have been enriched by the war through the exceptionally high price of food, and largely at the expense of the industrial workers.

The food situation in Italy is extremely serious. It is largely in the hope of getting grain from southern Russia that Italy has opened up trade relations with Russia. But the antagonism between town and country is less marked owing to the fact that the large estates still remain and the agricultural workers are fairly sympathetic with the urban

workers. Some are socialist, and others belong to the extreme left of the Catholic party.

England Free from Antagonism

In England almost no antagonism exists. There are not many small proprietors, and the agricultural laborers are fairly well organized into unions and co-operate wholeheartedly with the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party. Yet the agricultural worker has as a rule a lower standard of living than does his urban fellow worker, and to raise that standard it seems probable that the urban worker must submit to a higher price for food. Luckily England is fairly prosperous and her industry is running smoothly, so that the difficulty of exchange between town and country is at a minimum.

Conclusion

To sum up: We can find throughout the continent of Europe that a greatly reduced productivity has brought about a sharp opposition of economic interest between town and country. This has resulted in an alarming decrease of agricultural as well as industrial production, because the farmers do not care to produce for nothing. It should be noted in passing that this decrease of productivity is constantly cited against Soviet Russia by the enemies of socialism. It is also marked, however, in those other countries which have suffered similarly from war and the blockade, but still retain the capitalist system. This reduction of food in turn results in still further reducing the productivity of the industrial workers who receive less food than they need. This is a vicious circle.

To make up the food deficit by importation is very difficult on account of the depreciation of the exchange in those countries most in need of food. Hence it would seem that credits must be granted to both Germany and Austria to enable them to import the fertilizers without which the food can scarcely be produced, and the raw materials which enter into manufactured products offered to farmers in return for food. All thought of large indemnities in the near future must probably be abandoned. For unless credits are granted, the country will destroy the towns, and the urban population must, as Hoover said, emigrate or starve. As the cities are the centers of art, literature, education and scientific research, this would mean a tremendous setback to civilization.

The Lessons of the November Election

A Symposium

THE editors of *The Socialist Review* hoped, by the time this issue should have gone to press, to be able to present a detailed statement of the results of the elections, so far as the so-called minor parties were concerned. With this in view, they canvassed the Boards of Elections of every state in the union. At present writing, however, statements have been received from only eleven. In most of the other states the official canvass is still incomplete. The report will therefore have to be postponed until a later issue.

An effort was made to obtain the opinions of a number of leaders of thought in the Socialist and Farmer-Labor parties, the Non-partisan League, and other radical and liberal movements, regarding the lessons which the recent election should teach the labor movement in this country. The replies speak for themselves. A greater unity of action, more education, more organization, are the main needs of the radical movement, according to these writers. Their answers deserve careful consideration.

The Need for Radical Unity

Florence Kelley

(General Secretary, National Consumers' League)

The words "labor movement" cover a multitude of varieties of activity. The great

change to be hoped for is, I believe, the severance of the whole tremendous body from the old parties and its entrance upon a political movement of its own. "Divide and rule," applied to labor, is the eminently successful method of the ruling class.

Until American working people learn to feel and act as one body, irrespective of race, nationality, language, color and occupation, they will continue to be as powerless as they are today to control industry, legislation, or the policy of the country. Yet taken together the industrial workers and the farmers are the vast majority of the people of this nation. Only continued failure in both fields, political and industrial, seems destined to unify American wage earners. Experience alone teaches successfully.

H. G. Teigan

(General Secretary of the National Nonpartisan League)

A change in the political tactics of the labor movement is absolutely necessary to offer any hope of success. A political party organized along the lines of the British Labor Party looks to me as offering the best means of political expression for the working class. The Farmer-Labor Party is a good start in that direction, though it may need a little "revamping," so to speak, to make it more workable.

Incidentally, the large vote for Harding does not indicate that he or his party are popular. It was simply an anti-democratic landslide, the voters going to the party having the best organization. If the workers had had such an organization, they could have received a large part of this vote. Moreover, the people are no longer tied to old-party labels. Here in Minnesota, three candidates running with the designation "Farmer-Labor," but without the official indorsement of the Nonpartisan League or organized labor, polled an average of 190,000 votes, while their Democratic opponents got an average of 73,000. The League and labor indorsed candidates for four offices only—Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General and Justice of the Supreme Court. Shipstead, for Governor, got 281,402 votes.

John Haynes Holmes

(Pastor of the Community Church, New York)

The significance of the recent election is wholly negative. The unprecedented vote for Mr. Harding was a repudiation of the Wilson administration. There were many discordant elements among our citizenship which contributed to this vote, some of them utterly discreditable. On the whole, however, the Harding vote may well be taken as a reassurance of the right instincts and basic integrity of the American mind. The great body of our citizenship felt in a vague and uninformed way that the Wilson regime must be ended if our American democracy were to survive—and in this feeling they were right.

The out-and-out radical vote cast for minority parties was unexpectedly small, and yet not discouraging. Tens of thousands of voters were deterred from casting their ballots for Mr. Debs or Mr. Christensen, for the reason that they wanted to make the completest possible kind of a job of defeating Mr. Wilson, and felt that a vote for Harding was the surest and swiftest way of doing it. That under such conditions the minority vote should have amounted to between two and three millions, has impressive significance.

As for the future, one big lesson stands out like a mountain against the landscape. It is that the various political groups into which the radicals of America are divided, must get together. It is simply ridiculous that in times like these we should be all divided up into a Socialist Party, a Farmer-Labor Party, a Non-Partisan League, the Communist groups, etc. The differences which divide these factions amount to nothing as compared to our common cause against the enemy. Our job these next four years is *to unite*. We have nothing to lose but our factional disputes, and we have a world to gain.

Abraham Lefkowitz

(New York Farmer-Labor Party and American Federation of Teachers)

The overwhelming victory of the Republican Party and its intellectually bankrupt leader was not an indorsement of imperialism or even of Republican administrative ability but the futile effort of an enraged citizenry to punish a party that has done more to enslave labor and thought than any reactionary ruler in Europe. The radical parties of America must, in the future, devote their attention to three things:

1. Impressing on the citizen that a vote for the capitalist twins of Wall Street is a vote thrown away.

2. Creating a national organ which will be impartial in its treatment of political news and which will present economic facts of every description. Without facts intelligent voting is out of the question.

3. Introducing voting machines if votes are to be counted.

The Farmer-Labor Party, despite its lack of funds, literature, organization or an organ, made a remarkable showing. It proposes to go into every election district and to make its appeal directly not only to the independent voter but to the *Unionist*. The failure of the A. F. of L. non-partisan policy will make that task easier than heretofore. Personally, I should like to see a merging of the evolutionary radical forces of America in order that reaction and progress may lock horns without confusing the voters.

The Need for Education and Organization

Toscan Bennett

(Connecticut Farmer-Labor Party)

Three obvious facts can be deduced from the recent election. (1) The protest vote went to Harding. (2) The two-party habit is still firmly fixed upon the American electorate. (3) The number of people who are looking for the new social order via the programs of the radical parties is still exceedingly small.

Plus these matters of fact, I venture one matter of opinion. The tremendous economic upheaval which has been so largely prophesied by radicals and so much relied upon by them as an educational factor is not yet in sight and, personally, I cannot see it coming. Every panic in this country has always been preceded by two conditions, inflation and over-production. We have the element of inflation but not that of over-production. I therefore cling to the opinion which I have held all along that industry will have to readjust itself during the process of deflation; that the period of readjustment will be used by capital as a time for beating up organized labor and the radical movement; that some of the indicia of a panic may be produced, largely artificially; but that there will be no genuine panic owing to the fact that there is no genuine over-production.

On these premises I base my advice to the labor movement and the radical parties to exert themselves in organization and education. Too much energy in the past campaign was devoted to vote-getting and too little to organization and education. At this time a good organization of economically well educated men and women who will stick is more to be desired than thousands of votes. I hope that the immediate future will be devoted to this end. I also hope that the educational work will emphasize the actual next-steps in the taking over of industry by the workers and will afford a spiritual background for the struggle which can have but the one end, the emancipation of the workers.

Robert M. Buck

(Editor *The New Majority*)

The overwhelming nature of the Republican landslide, while it indicated that the protest voters took the pragmatic view, not having been educated up to the point of voting to support fundamental programs, nevertheless indicated that the electorate is at least thinking sufficiently to have broken into party loyalties as between the two old parties. If this means anything, it means that the rank

and file of citizens of the United States are fallow soil, susceptible of cultivation, and that now is the time to dig in harder than ever with educational propaganda with a view of further developing the habit of thoughtfulness which seems to me to be in the bud.

J. Louis Engdahl

(Editor, the *Chicago Socialist*)

The recent elections again proved the backwardness of the American working class, politically, even as the conservative nature of American labor manifests itself from day to day. The Socialist Party again showed itself to be the only working class political organization in the field worthy of the name. The results did not come up to expectations, but election hopes are rarely if ever fulfilled. World events will continue to educate the workers in this, as in other countries, in spite of themselves.

What is needed now, more than ever, is organization of the sentiment that is developing, and will continue to develop, from this education. There is no hope of united political action by the forces of American labor, the extremes and divergences of thought and action being too great, at this time, and this condition will continue for some time to come.

Scott Nearing

(Author, lecturer)

The election gave the American imperialists a blanket mortgage on the resources and wealth of the United States at the same time that it put a blanket injunction on the older forms of the American labor movement. That leaves Imperialism with its hands free, while labor still has the job of developing a class-conscious solidarity.

Norman Thomas

(Editor of *The World Tomorrow*)

The chief result of the last campaign is to prove that the political machinery is splendidly designed for the perpetuation of the control of government by privilege. The American electorate had Hobson's choice. If it wanted to rebuke Wilson it could vote for Harding. Of course, this situation would not be possible did we not have an economically illiterate electorate. The chief duty of all minor parties with any fundamental economic belief is one of education. If they would stop cussing each other long enough to get busy on the educational and industrial field, they might later be in a position to work out the tactics of revolution. Our main job is education, not winning this election or that, though victories are not to be despised. And it would be well to have a little organization to see to it that the vote was counted right.

As for the relations between the Socialist and Farmer-Labor Party one can tell better what ought to be done after seeing what the future of the Farmer-Labor Party is to be. If it is to be a genuine labor party and refuse absolutely to compromise with the older capitalistic parties it might be advisable for socialists and Farmer-Laborites to fuse in the *local* elections next year. Time alone can tell.

A Wider Scope for Unions

Vida D. Scudder

(Author of "Socialism and Character," etc.)

What should radical movements do after a conservative landslide? Waste as little time as possible in denunciation and self-defense; and become constructive. There are many misconceptions to be cleared. A liberal like Mr. Herbert Croly, discussing anxiously how to vote, dismissed the socialist flag because it "calls for blood," and prefers a flag which as he acknowledges, "floats over a castle in the air." Cannot American socialism persuade Mr. Croly that it does not call for blood? Here is the public disgusted at the inefficiency of labor; seeing nothing except labor throwing down its tools at five o'clock and scamping its job. Labor has cause enough, God knows. But as mere strategy, how effective it would be if the labor movement would extend its scope! If it became solicitous over standards as well as conditions, it could sweep the nation to its side.

Why should not labor unions annex the efficiency-experts? Why don't they make it part of their job to expose the absurd waste of capitalistic methods? Cooperative enterprises lie within their grasp. Can they not demonstrate their fitness for industrial control, by at once enlarging their interest beyond the dogged fight for decent wages and hours to include the larger problems of production?

There are vast powers latent in the labor movement to try experiments and release ideas; one of the most encouraging signs in our country is that the more revolutionary phases of the movement are showing imagination and initiative. Labor and socialist groups are debarred for four years from political power; but if they use the time in vital ways, not only fighting on old lines, but occupying fresh ground, there will come an election when they can sweep all the hesitant votes of the country one way—the way toward harmony.

An Explanation

Albert De Silver

(Director, National Civil Liberties Union)

The psychology of the recent election seems to me to be very simple. The outstanding fact, I think, is that the great majority of the American people wanted the next President to be a man like Mr. Harding. They wanted a man of his type because of a sort of hazy realization that there were great, new problems in the world, because they were profoundly disappointed with the manner in which the present administration had attempted to deal with those problems, and because they were filled with a great mystification as to their solution which gave them a distrust of anything that seemed intricate or difficult to understand and made them turn to a simple, unsubtle, unlearned man who appeared to be endowed with the same virtues and weaknesses that they were accustomed to meet in everyday experience. Such is my guess at the cause of the landslide.

The Reformist Pitfall

William F. Kruse

(State Secretary, Socialist Party of Illinois)

In 1920 we reaped what was sown in 1916. The Benson campaign was made on a simple anti-war issue and helped elect Wilson. The 1920 campaign was conducted largely on an anti-administration war-cry, and aside from getting us one-fifth the number of votes promised by our irrepressible optimists, it merely contributed to the anti-administration landslide in favor of Harding.

Lessons? Surely. 1: We should have higher ambitions than to serve as cat's-paws for the capitalist political opposition. 2: When labor-reformism enters the political lists, we must either forsake our socialism entirely or express it in such terms that it will be clearly distinguishable from that which is offered as a substitute.

William M. Feigenbaum

(Director, Publicity Department Socialist Party; Editor, *The New Day,* and *The Socialist World*)

The recent election showed, among other things, that when the working class is ready for independent political action, they will utilize the Socialist Party. Many working people in sympathy with the Socialist Party felt that the party had got a bad name, and therefore it was necessary to camouflage the aims of the political labor movement by some innocuous name.

In the cities and counties where both organizations were in existence and able to appeal to the people, the working people ignored the appeal to vote for the Farmer-Labor Party, while casting a largely increased vote for the Socialist Party. In Chicago, for example, the new organization was outvoted ten to one; in St. Louis about the same; in Buffalo 30 to 1, in Schenectady 40 to 1. I am, therefore, convinced that the Socialist Party has thoroughly won the right to be considered the one and only labor party of the United States.

The election figures showed that the overwhelming bulk of the working people voted for Senator Harding, not because of what he stood for, but because they wanted to punish the Wilson administration. I believe that the denunciation of the Wilson administration and its betrayal of its trust, justified though that denunciation was, was overdone. The working people have learned that mere denunciation is not enough. The principal point in a political campaign should be and will be, emphasis upon the final solution to the problems of the world rather than sterile denunciation.

A New Industrial Unionism

Roger Baldwin

(Director of the American Civil Liberties Union)

Speaking as one who sees no hope of progress by so-called representative government, and who is unwilling to participate in the whole sham system even by voting, let me say that the election is chiefly an expression of disgust with Wilsonism, and secondarily, a confession of the weakness of the forces with a program. Reaction has us, and we have developed no means of effective resistance or unity. Not until the form, spirit, and leadership of the farmer and labor movements are wholly changed, can we expect militant action. That action, in my opinion, must take place primarily through the industrial power of the workers and farmers, and in politics only as an unimportant reflex of that power. The main job ahead is the building up of a wholly new industrial unionism, working with militant farmers' organizations and the cooperatives.

Around the German Socialist Conventions[1]

Sanford Griffith

I ATTENDED the two socialist party conventions the week of October tenth in Cassel and Halle. These huge popular parties, representing half the German voters, met to decide on new policies to meet the present political and economic crisis now existing in Germany. One big factor modified the whole course of the debates: Moscow. Russian bolshevism loomed up large at both conventions.

The Majority Socialists held themselves in a rigid path of moderation, preferring to emphasize democracy rather than socialism, and in no way seemed to be tinged by bolshevism. The Independents were split over communism. The old leaders would have preferred to follow in the path of the Majority, but a large part of the masses, despairing of compromise to take them out of the mire in which they now wallow, looked eagerly to the leaders from Moscow. Zinoviev, speaker for the soviet government, and Losowski, representative of the Russian trade unions, were there to show the workers the Moscow path. The struggle between the two factions was intense.

Convention Surroundings

The surroundings of the two conventions at once emphasized the difference. In Cassel the debates of the Majority Socialists, under the chairmanship of the mayor of the city, former premier Scheidemann, were held in the town hall. This massive stone edifice, built on Roman lines, symbolized order and restraint. A red banner floating from the flag-staff—torn down in the night, it is true—was the only discordant socialist note at the democratic convention.

The Independent Socialists on the other hand held their convention in the People's Hall of Halle. This enormous building, irregular in line, is built for space and not for

[1] This article appears in *The Socialist Review* through the courtesy of the Foreign Press Service.

comfort. Not only were there red flags before the doors but the entire hall was hung in red. Over the platform hung a banner presented by Moscow last year on which is the star and crossed hammer and sickle, and the words "Proletariat unite in the world revolution." Aside from the expanse of red, decorations were scant. Only two huge figures, panels fully twenty feet high, loomed up in harsh black lines on either side of the platform. Both were of Byzantine stiffness. One was the figure of a woman clutching an emaciated child. The other was that of a workman with deep-set eyes and scraggly beard. Both had menace and despair in their gaze, and were indeed a symbol of the temper of many of those gathered there.

Swing to the Left

The crisis confronting the socialist parties has been gathering the last two years. Disgusted with war cant and sacrifice, the people looked to Wilson and to their socialist party leaders to help them out. But they met one disillusionment after another. The Fourteen Points proved in practice to be mostly words. At home, too, they found their socialist leaders hardly more willing than their old conservative ones to take a bold step in social reform and, on the whole, less able to administer than the old ones.

The masses, therefore, during the first year and a half moved farther and farther left to the support of leaders who promised more radical ways out. The Independent Socialist Party, the anti-war party, grew to proportions almost equal to those of the old Majority, with its five million voters and its million and a half party members. So rapidly indeed did the masses pull away, that after the last election the Majority Socialists felt obliged to keep out of the cabinet not to lose more labor votes.

The Split

Since that time and the meeting of the Third International at Moscow, a new wedge has entered into German labor, making a split between the socialists who would follow the democratic socialist policy of the Majority Socialists, and those who would turn to Russia for leadership and support. The split is now no longer between the masses and old leaders like Scheidemann and Noske, but between those who want social changes to come so slowly that production and peace will not be disturbed, and those who are ready to follow any program which promises to uproot the whole present existing order. The bolsheviks were at the Independent Socialist convention to give the latter all possible support.

The bolshevik peril, as the Majority Socialists regard it, kept them solidly together at Cassel on a program which was intended to reassure the other parties of their moderate intentions. The word democracy, more than socialism, was common coin. As the editor of a large Majority Socialist paper said to me, "We are really the one democratic party in Germany."

Majority Socialist Convention

Various vital problems were discussed at Cassel. On the question of foreign policy the debates were rather national in tone. The Germans of Upper Silesia and other regions threatened by annexation were promised full support by the majority. The peace treaty was repeatedly attacked. The Majority Socialists did, however, emphasize the fact that they were not averse to participating in reconstruction and did not purpose to fight the Allies over the treaty. They therefore spoke in general terms in favor of peace and reconciliation with former enemies. Bitterness against the French, however, was very high.

The Majority Socialists seek peace also through compromise at home. Extensive projects, as that of Wissel for socializing all industries on one general plan, were on principle rejected as too radical. They admit that nationalization of certain industries, as of coal, where popular demand is increasingly insistent, must in one form or another be carried out. In other cases than absolute necessity, socialization should take place only where the socialized services can compete successfully with private enterprise. The fundamental idea in all this is that no social

changes should be undertaken which would further break the already imperilled social structure, and consequently reduce production even more than at present.

The convention of the Majority Socialists was not particularly inspiring. The old leaders Scheidemann, Bauer, Hirsch, with Noske less in evidence, still formed the old guard. The sessions were very correct and parliamentary with little difference of opinion and a strict party discipline which kept wavering sheep in line. Few new ideas were aired. The whole atmosphere was one intended to convince the bulk of the German people who want order and not adventure that the Majority Socialist Party is not to be led astray by foreign radical ideas. All news of disorder in the Independent Socialist congress was greeted with satisfaction. It meant the death of a dangerous rival and it must be admitted gave a certain pharisaic feeling of superiority to the very correct Cassel assembly.

Contrasts at Halle

Halle was a fight from beginning to end. But this does not mean of the sort common at Irish elections or in lower New York districts. The Germans use their fists unwillingly and have never developed the art of the well-aimed brick. But rhetorical fighting there was, and this accompanied by much fist-shaking.

The Independents concerned themselves less with the living difficulties today. They were a different crowd from those at the Majority congress. At Cassel were many functionaries, school teachers and business men, while here the greater part of the members were miners, metal-workers, and small functionaries.

Another notable difference was in the nationality of the two assemblies. The Majority one was German through and through. The political horizon remained a purely German one, with emphasis on the Second International. This is favored more because it leaves the party free from foreign intervention than because of any internationalism it contains.

Moderates vs. the Communists

Strong differences developed at Halle between the supporters of the moderate socialist program and the communists. These two groups sat on different sides of the house glowering at one another, as divided as though a wall stood between them. The left wing was at least ten years younger than the average among the right supporters. Many of them were hard-fisted miners, not in the least afraid of a fight. Among the leaders, too, were younger men. But notably on both sides the leaders originated largely from the much despised middle classes.

The Independent Socialists welcomed foreign comrades. On the right sat Longuet, the French socialist, and Martoff, the well-known menshevik theorist and leader. On the left there was the entire bolshevik delegation, Zinoviev, Losowski, representing the Russian trade unions and staff, with communists from nearly every European country, and even from India and South America. All were welcome there and all had something to say when given a chance to speak.

The position here of the right wing was an awkward one. They were more radical in their demands for socialization than the majority at Cassel, but in tactics they wanted to avoid violence and any check in production. They, too, did not care to embark on socialist adventures. They had no desire to share bolshevik misery, and openly resented communist intervention in their congress.

The left wing Moscow-Germans objected from the beginning, and declared that if other socialists had their way socialization would not be realized until Doomsday. Better, they reasoned, that all suffer hardships and some starve now in rooting out the whole capitalist system and introducing a new order with domination of the proletariat, than that the proletariat now starve under the present capitalistic system of plundering.

Daeumig, the theorist of the left wing, outlined a program where the works-councils would become the militant political organs to be used in breaking the old leaders of the trade unions and in getting control of the

machinery of production. Socialization must not stop at coal but must extend over all industries.

Many hard words were exchanged between leaders of both wings, the left accusing the right of attempting to save the capitalistic system by half measures, and the right, the left of being opportunists and demagogues, merely taking advantage of present discontent among the workers to gain power.

Zinoviev Speaks

The real militant note was introduced when Zinoviev spoke. Without pretending to appreciate the accuracy of the facts he gave, I watched with interest his skill at playing with the thousands of Germans packed in the hall as with a key-board. He overcame much national prejudice at the start by reminding them that the Russian communists too had learned much from Germany and were ready to continue to learn. He made less effort to disprove the pictures of Russian misery given by the right than he did to arouse a fighting spirit in the workers. Freedom, he insisted, can only be won dearly.

He then attacked the leaders of the hesitant wing and the trade-union heads, calling them more of a menace to the German workers in their pseudo-socialism than the German secret military organizations. He worked them up to a high pitch of indignation, and then waited for them to cool. Until now the gulf which divided the two wings seemed unfathomable. But Zinoviev threw disorder into the right camp by suggesting that some of the twenty-one conditions set by Moscow for entry into the International might be modified. Little groups of the right began whispering together and a few wavering ones would certainly have gone over to the left, had not the party whips kept close watch over them.

But Zinoviev's move was merely tactical. He himself emphasized the necessity of clearing out the party of old leaders. During four and a half hours he inundated the hall with a flood of oratory. It was no longer the painstaking carefully defined outline of party creeds German party leaders usually give, but an emotional appeal to the workers of the world. Hour after hour he pounded at the passive German workers, in an attempt to fire their enthusiasm and to arouse them to action. The meeting broke up with the singing of the Internationale and wild enthusiasm for Moscow. The right wing did not know whether to sing or not and slipped discreetly out.

The Right Wing Replies

On the following days Longuet and Martoff, the menshevik theorist, as well as German leaders of the right wing, attempted to cool the ardor of the German communists. But bolshevik delegates and sympathizers were on the watch and countered every speech by another with a Moscow turn.

Although the Moscow wing from the beginning had a majority of three-fifths, both factions gritted their teeth and came determined to provoke the other into making the decisive step which would split the party. This means more than empty words about party unity. The name has no significance unless the majority is behind it. But there are also party funds, newspapers, election lists to be divided. Each waited for the other to leave all treasures behind. The final upshot was that each wing declared that the other had departed from the party program and had therefore forfeited all right to a share in the funds. The dispute has therefore been transferred to a hundred towns where the two factions will have it out for final control.

Moscow Wins

When finally the break came, 257 delegates declared for and 156 against adhesion to the Third International. This of necessity splits the party because acceptance of the terms involves cleaning out many of the old reformist leaders. Zinoviev, however, made the transition easy for the new communist-socialist majority by offering to admit them to the Moscow International without their becoming officially a communist party.

This split in the Independent Socialist Party will probably, as an ultimate result, turn the minority back into the camp of the

Majority Socialist Party, and sooner or later the Left Independents will probably rally with the communist parties. Of the latter there are already four. Zinoviev hoped to unite all of these smaller elements into a solid labor party "ready to help the soviet government in the struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. In Germany they must join vigorously in the class struggle," he explained to me.

The Result

The upshot of the socialist party conventions will be to unite German moderate socialists and democrats in a common front against bolshevism. The radical workers on the other hand need no longer chafe under what they regarded as oppressive bureaucratic leadership. Inspired more or less directly from Moscow they now can go as far as they like in the struggle for domination of the proletariat. It is probable, if anything, that Moscow, however, will find that German labor does not go far enough. Whether they call themselves communists, socialists, or Catholics, the Germans are not temperamentally inclined to organize any big revolution. Reforms they demand, but would realize their new era through patient building up stone by stone over generations. Hunger alone, if even that, can bring them out of their normal evolution. There are bound to be conflicts ahead this winter as the two forces become stronger, but there is little reason as yet to think that these will take a very violent form.

Labor in South America—1920

Marion G. Eaton

IN the past year labor in the more important South American countries has passed definitely from the status of an inert mass of humanity to be bought as cheaply as possible by foreign and domestic capitalists and has become a class-conscious body of workingmen, a political force to be reckoned with.

There has been a welter of strikes on every hand, accompanied usually by violence, and stressing the recognition of the union to a greater extent than more money and shorter hours. The cost of living has been a source of discontent everywhere. For the South American countries no reliable index numbers exist, but price levels, except in the case of Chile, are probably slightly above those in the United States, with many things not obtainable at any price because of the disorganization of world trade. Depreciated currency and fluctuating exchange values, and the refusal of the propertied classes to pay their fair share of the taxes have increased the pressure even more. In Paraguay even the store keepers shut up shop and joined the ranks of the strikers.

South America has a large floating population of workers, many of whom before the war came and went between Europe and the East Coast countries in a regular seasonal flux. The governments, particularly in Argentina and Brazil, have arrested at a time literally hundreds of suspected leaders and suspicious foreigners, usually Spaniards or Russians, deporting or holding them indefinitely in jail. None of these leaders, however, has become an outstanding figure to which a personality or even a name can be attached. Their success must have been due in large part to a discontent lying everywhere close to the surface, which flared up in the wheatfields and the back reaches of the quebracho forests as easily as along the crowded water fronts of the cities.

Argentina

The biggest labor fight of the year in South America and the most important internationally was the year-long strike of the Argentine maritime workers, the "Federacion Obera Maritima." This strike has tied up completely since the first of the year all the

Mihanovich fleet, twenty or more ships owned by the Argentine Navigation Company. From this company the strike spread to the boats of the towing company and the ships that served the central products market of Buenos Aires. This paralyzed traffic on the River Plate between Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, and all Argentine coastal traffic.

The president of Argentina charged the company with "intransigeancy" and the company issued in September a long defense, saying in part:

"We must place it upon record that this Company has never made any question as to whether its personnel belongs or does not belong to a trade union, and it has always selected its employees solely on their qualifications. . . . your Excellency will perceive that it would be monstrous for us to expel the present crews of the Uruguayan ships (the ships registered under the Uruguayan flag) in order to replace them by federated crews. . . . We have no other questions at issue with our personnel on strike; no requests for higher salaries, nor any complaints as to working hours or conditions, meals, or any other point. We have borne with patience the lack of discipline on board and also the boycott against cargoes as ordained by the F. O. Maritima and as at present practised in the port of Buenos Aires. We are aware of no other causes of conflict than those stated."

The main strike began in February, 1920, though there had been trouble since the port strikes of the year before, over the refusal of the company to discharge from its shipyard at San Fernando workmen who continued employed during the strikes at shipyards in Buenos Aires. This demand was followed almost immediately by a demand for the dismissal of men employed on the ships of the company run under the flag of Uruguay, and the refusal of the company to yield to the men was the signal for a general walkout that completely tied up the traffic. Then the towing company endeavored to help Mihanovich and was promptly boycotted by all laborers in the federation, dock workers, as well as ships' crews. This second phase of the struggle meant the tying up of many foreign vessels who were loading with grain for export. The government settled the strike by taking over the boats and operating them practically as navy tugs.

The Mihanovich interests are now, at the beginning of November, organizing a $10,000,000 Uruguayan navigation company. The government of Argentina is working on plans for leasing or even requisitioning sufficient river and coastal boats to restore the traffic to normal.

Farm Strikes

The strikes most interesting in their implications, perhaps, were those that took place among the agricultural workers in the grain fields of the interior and in the various big land companies. The agricultural strikes were accompanied by strikes among the stevedores at the grain terminals and the railway men and then spread to all classes of labor in the up-river and interior cities. In Rosario in the middle of March, stevedores, carters, chauffeurs, bagmen and milkmen were all out at the same time. The workers in the state oil fields at Comodore Rivadavia also went out, partly on a sympathy strike, partly for better working conditions.

The Forestal Land Company's annual report describes the strike of their workers for recognition of the union:

"On December 12 a telegram was received from the workmen at the various factories giving us twenty-four hours in which to reinstate certain men who had been dismissed. On Sunday, December 14, strikes broke out at all the factories, but it was only at Tartagal that conditions assumed a revolutionary aspect. Some damage was done to our property, and a considerable amount of logs and extract was burned. A detachment of police guards arrived upon the scene, to be reinforced later on by a considerable body of troops. Telegraph lines were cut and remained cut for a long period, a large number of our cattle were rounded up and slaughtered. The losses incurred have been written off. The strike came to an end on January 11, 1920. Since that time labor has been very unsettled throughout the Argentine, and as recently as April 21 last sudden further trouble occurred at our Guillermina factory. We are informed that it was in no way due to any difference between the company and its employes, but was consequent upon the arrest by the Provincial Government of one of the workmen. On the outbreak of disorder our local manager, Mr. Bianchini, went at once with great promptitude and courage to reason with the men, but they were completely out of hand, and he was assassinated. His loss is greatly to be deplored; he was a man

of great ability and an excellent servant of the company."

This strike was officially ended the middle of January after four weeks of negotiations and a property loss of $500,000. The company refused throughout to treat with "outside elements" but consented to the election of committees of the workingmen at each factory to treat with the local managers on all matters pertaining to wages and working conditions. Each reinstatement of a dismissed workman was to be considered on the merits of the case. The company granted a weekly holiday. It did not allow wages for the strike period; it permitted the men to pay for groceries purchased during the month from the company stores in ten monthly instalments at a 20 per cent reduction. The very statement of these terms shows what absolute little kingdoms these company lands have been. It is also interesting to note that the Forestal Company is considering the sale of all its agricultural lands in Argentina, retaining only its quebracho extracting plants and its hide factories.

Railroad Compromises

The state railway workers in the grain region shared in the general disturbances. After several strikes an agreement was reached during the first week in September between the managers of all the important railway companies and representatives of the operatives. The agreement is comprehensive, including forty articles that cover every possible question of wages and working conditions. It is the first important collective contract in the country and was signed by representatives of the two sides after twenty meetings held under the auspices of the Minister of Public Works.

This agreement was signed on a Friday. The following Monday a committee, speaking for the managements of the various roads, called on the Minister of Public Works to inform him that they had voluntarily accorded increases in wages to all employes, but more especially to the lower-paid classes, on the ground that present wages, though much above pre-war levels, could not adequately meet increased living costs. The contemplated increases would total about $10,000,000 for all companies concerned.

Radicals Elected

In the midst of all this disturbance, with wholesale arrests by the police and the activities of local "patriotic" societies, general elections for Congress were held in Argentina the first of the month of March. They resulted in a very decided victory for the Radical party, whose head, Irygoyen, is now President of the Republic, with the socialists in second place. Of 150,000 straight party votes cast in the city of Buenos Aires, 55,000 were Radical, 49,000 were Socialist and only 33,000 Progressive Democrat, the old conservative party that has ruled so long.

Immediately following the elections the government raided certain suspected centers of radical activity in Buenos Aires and the suburbs, arrested 150 "anarchists," and doubled the guards about the city, alleging that they had frustrated a communist conspiracy to set up a soviet in South America. Had they taken measures to break the river strike, they would doubtless have received more thanks from the business men of the city, and the outside world to whom they must look for financial aid.

Chilean Miners

In Chile the coal miners' strike and the victory of the Liberal party in the general elections of June are the two outstanding features of the year.

Labor troubles were prevalent all through the latter part of 1919. In Santiago and the vicinity a general strike was called in sympathy with thirty-eight striking brewery drivers. A longshoremen's strike at Valparaiso and Antofagasta tied up coastal services badly. In December the railroadmen in the north walked out, but were given a raise in pay. The native workmen at the Braden copper mines struck for recognition of their union. Out of 6,000 men, 2,000 were put on special trains and shipped half south and half north!

The latter part of January the strikes in the coal mines came to a head, the miners asking for an average increase of 40 per cent. The coal barons of Chile are barons in the feudal sense of the word, making what even North American capitalists call "unconscionable profits." The large majority of the miners live in company houses and trade at company stores. The representative of the Chilean Department of Labor who investigated conditions in April reported that the men made the equivalent of $1.50 to $2.20 a day. They are paid, however, not in currency but in company values that are liquidated only about five times a year. The working day is from six to six and children of from eight to sixteen years are employed for 34 to 80 cents a day.

These men are asking for an eight-hour day, payments in currency, recognition of the union and better police regulations. The owners are obdurate. State intervention has failed and the strike has dragged on and on. Railroad service has had to be seriously curtailed and coastal shipping delayed. Gas companies are feeling the shortage. Even in Santiago gas has been rationed, for a while being turned on only at meal times.

Labor Victory

All this labor ferment has had an immediate effect on the political situation. Chile has had six or seven political parties who have usually formed two coalitions at election time; Conservative, who stand for the continuance and extension of the influence of the church in the state, and the Liberals, who ask for the separation of church and state. Political discussion in the press has centered on such subjects as the obligatory education of children; the precedence of civil marriages and the control of religious orders. The Conservatives, who are backed by all the landowners and the propertied classes, such as the wine growers, have always been in control.

But unsettled world conditions have upset Chile's wonted financial stability, which was based on her steady stream of nitrate exports. Exchange has fluctuated wildly and business has been in commotion. Conditions have forced the government to consider the economic question.

Suddenly labor coalesced and threw its weight behind the liberal parties. On April 25 the convention of the Liberal Alliance met and nominated Arturo Alessandri as its candidate. Its platform advocated currency reform, the income tax, protection of national industries from foreign aggression, various solutions for social evils, the education of women (sic) and children, prohibition, parliamentary reforms, and the separation of Church and State. Of these planks currency reform, income tax and prohibition are the most pressing and promise to be hotly contested by the old order. Mr. Alessandri has before him an opportunity to become a real figure in South American history.

On June 25, he was elected president by a seemingly overwhelming majority. The opposing party, however, charged fraud and managed to throw the choice before Congress which body finally confirmed the election, after many delays, late in the year. This confirmation, however, was not given until the workers in the large cities had called general strikes as demonstrations in Alessandri's behalf. The inauguration of the opposing candidate, it became evident, would mean civil war. Rumor had it that the old party stirred up all the talk of war with Peru and Bolivia to divert the public mind from the domestic situation and that it sent the most aggressive of the labor men off to the north under the guise of mobilization.

ANNOUNCEMENT

This issue combines the December and January issues of *The Socialist Review,* and begins its second year, which is thus made to coincide with the calendar year instead of beginning in December.

Before the next issue is published, we hope to send announcements of an enlarged scope for the magazine, and reorganized sponsorship. The formulation of plans has not proceeded far enough, however, to permit a definite statement at this time.

Japan at the Cross Roads

S. Numata

NOBODY can deny that Nippon is coming into close relations with the progressive movement in human thought throughout the world. With the close of the European war, she has become a strong competitor of Europe and America. For years Japan was regarded as an unenlightened country. For years Europe and America believed that she could take no step without the aid of foreign governments.

However Japan has behind her two thousand years of culture. She has expressed her originality in her own remarkable expansion in the present century. Today there exist in Japan certain social phenomena of interest to students which I intend to analyze briefly and freely.

The State Concept

There is at present a subjective spiritual relationship between the Imperial Japanese House and the people. This relationship, it seems to me, is destined to shift from the subjective and instinctive standpoint to an objective and national one. Although a number of Japanese condemn the people's loyalty, the majority are as faithful as ever to the Imperial House. Ancestor worship in Japan is rooted deep in Japanese conventions, and ancestor worship, family relationships and the support of the Imperial House have the same philosophical background. It is true that Professors Morito, Hoashi and Kimura and the Omoto religion maintain an anarchistic attitude toward the state, but this attitude is an exceptional, not a typical one. Their opinions may be respected from the standpoint of pure science, but one cannot ignore as non-existent the historic forces at work, nor can one hope immediately to reconstruct the country according to these ideas.

Personally I am of the opinion that we can eliminate the deficiencies in our midst without interfering with ancestor worship or the worship of the Mikado. It is not our desire to destroy our good customs in order that we might initiate foreign ideas.

State Action

The propaganda of bolshevism, anarchism and similar doctrines is strictly prohibited here as in most other countries. The government, on the other hand, has undertaken a number of state enterprises which it believes consistent with the constitution. Certain of the principles of unionism, communism, syndicalism and socialism have been incorporated in a number of recent Japanese ordinances. Such legislation is likely to spread gradually throughout the country. The Japanese Department of the Interior, which manages the local administration, including the administrative and judicial police has, for instance, established the "Bureau of Social Welfare." A number of officials have been employed in this department to look after the interest of the workers.

Class Struggles

Class struggles in Japan between the military, capitalist and titled classes, on the one hand, and the workers on the other, are now reaching a crisis, and these groups are lining up against each other. We should insist on obtaining through legal process our just rights against these tyrants. I would be glad to see these two forces come to grips at any time in order that, out of the battle, may come a real harmony and a real brotherhood. Indispensable to the solution of our evils are the uprooting of the present tyrannical conditions and the establishment of social ownership in our country.

Political Democracy

There are a number of groups in Japan looking toward political and economic democracy. In 1918, Dr. T. Fukuda, Professor of Keiwo

University and Dr. S. Yoshino, Professor of Tokio Imperial University and others, established a society known as the Raymaki, for the purpose of studying the fundamentals of the Japanese state. The members of this society possess a certain bourgeois radicalism. The organization is rather popular in social and industrial circles. The movement, however, deals merely with theoretical investigations, and does not concern itself with practical movements.

The Socialist and Allied Movements

We have but few real socialists in Japan. It is very difficult for the intellectuals in Japan to earn a decent livelihood. Many of these, forced to join the army of the unemployed, have become socialists in name at least. Socialism to them, however, is not life itself but only a method whereby their lives may be made easier. The socialist idea is now permeating all parts of the country, and even the students in the high schools spend much time reading Marxism and socialism. There have of late been many translations of books on guild socialism, bolshevism, the I. W. W., syndicalism and other radical movements, and the circulation of books along these lines has made a new record in recent years. Meetings on socialism where extreme measures are not urged, are not now prohibited, although they are closely watched by the authorities.

A number of professors in Japanese colleges are ardent believers in Marxism, differing from each other only in details.[1]

Labor Unions

The first labor union in Japan was established in 1894. At the end of the war we had large union organizations, among them the Youwai Society, which contains sixty thousand members.[2]

As recently as August, 1920, some 300,000 railwaymen organized a railwaymen's union, and elected more than 1,200 representatives. Last year a law was passed declaring strikes legal. Between January and July, 1920, 182 strikes were reported, of which 100 were partially successful, 17 fully successful, 25 settled, and 37 failed. Three were pending at the time of the report.[3] The Japanese workers are becoming conscious of their position in society, and are beginning to regard the present economic system as nothing more than a modern form of slavery. At present many workers are unemployed. In July of this year it was reported that some 45,764 workers in twenty industries were out of work. More than 10,000 were discharged in Osaka and vicinity between April and July, and for these the Japanese capitalists showed little concern.

Many businesses have lost heavily of late following their days of profiteering. Many are urging as an immediate remedy for the present situation the recognition of young men of talent, the abandonment of the traditional and clan system, and the raising of the standard of commercial morality.

During the last ten years, and particularly during and since the war, scholars, statesmen and educators have translated at random a vast number of foreign books. Many of these translators were ill prepared for their tasks, bringing together in an irresponsible manner, a curious array of rainbow thoughts. Some of the dreams which these scholars pictured have been realized. Others have failed of accomplishment, and this failure has led to skepticism.

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[1] These professors include Dr. H. Kawakami, Professor of the Kioto Imperial University, M. Takahata, K. Yamakawa and K. Sakai. Dr. Kawakami publishes a monthly magazine named "Schakai Mondai Kenkiu" and is popular in the districts of Osaka, Kioto and Kobe. K. Sakai, H. Yendow, K. Yamakawa, K. Arahata, M. Takahata, K. Yamazaki have their own magazines named "Heiminn Daigaku," "Schin Schakai Schi" and "Schakai Schugi Kenkiu." T. Kagawa is a prominent socialist scholar in Kobe, and K. Kuru and S. Kuruma, in Osaka and Kioto. K. Murofuse is also well known.

[2] The general secretary of this organization is B. Suzuki, and the active secretaries, H. Asaw, T. Kagawa, Y. Tanahashi, K. Kuru, and K. Matsuoka. Dr. T. Takano, Dr. S. Yoshino, Dr. K. Horiye, Professor S. Kitazawa and Professor I. Abe are prominent committee members.

[3] These strikes took place in the following industries: mechanical industries, 24; brickyards, 23; chemical works, 21; mines, 19; cotton mills, 16; public works, 12; silk mills, 9; lumber industry, 8; dockyards and ships, 4 each; salt fields, 3; miscellaneous, 36.

There are at present two points of view in regard to the tactics to be pursued. The one is that we must abandon our ancient customs, and reconstruct life along entirely different lines than that which existed in the past. The second urges that we recognize the historic forms of our social structure and endeavor gradually to evolve our present into higher relationships.

Political Situation

Elder statesmen, capitalists, so-called constitutional politicians and the nobility have been working together in an intimate manner in Japan for many years. This alliance, however, is in no sense representative of the public. Neither the political parties nor the Constitution have been fulfilling their real functions in this country any more than they have in other lands. The Japanese proletariat must be relied upon to do the pioneer social work. Their future depends on their ability to organize politically and industrially. The immediate steps to be taken are the securing of universal suffrage and the establishment of a third party.

One thing more. The majority of Japanese are now placing the religion in a secondary place in their busy lives. They are treating it as a useless thing in human development. They have recently gone through many phases of experience, and are now searching for something that will satisfy them. They are becoming fascinated by European and American sciences, and their philosophy is likely to degenerate into a form of Epicureanism. At present they are embracing polytheism and atheism, as in other countries, and are losing their vision. Their formerly bright faces have become pale and downcast.

That nation which does not respect individual and social freedom, which ignores its racial and national history, which does not depend on its innate strength, has no reason for existence. The Japanese people are now standing at the cross roads. We must soon accomplish something for our country and for humanity or else we fail as a nation.

Book Reviews

Parliament Preferred

Parliament and Revolution. J. Ramsay Macdonald. N. Y.: Thomas Seltzer. 1920. 180 pp.

The Russian revolution of November, 1917, has been responsible for many incidental revolutions, among them the revolution in socialist tactics. In 1916 the questions of proletarian dictatorship and sovietism were scarcely topics for debate save in the innermost circle of socialist tacticians. Today the whole radical movement of the world is being torn asunder over the question whether the socialists of other countries should adopt bolshevik tactics. This volume by Ramsay Macdonald, the prominent British socialist and anti-militarist and one of the leading "right wing" socialists of the world, argues against such adoption.

Mr. Macdonald, in his discussion, first presents the chief criticisms against political democracy. The ignorance, "the natural passivity of the toilers" and the ease with which they can be fooled by the press and by political catchwords make progress through majority rule slow.

The only way to break capitalist control, according to the communists, is for revolutionary labor minorities to arm themselves against the capitalist dictatorship, and, after obtaining control through minority revolutionary action, to draw the passive majority to the support of the proletarian dictatorship. Capitalist critics, says Mr. Macdonald, have no right to denounce this position, since they are themselves supporting a minority dictatorship wherever possible. "But socialists ought to maintain a wider and higher view than that of capitalist subjection."

Lenin believes that there must be a "very long period of transition" between capitalism and socialism. This dictatorship, "when the new order has to be protected by force, by censorships, by repression, is not to be a short thing. . . . Left to combat with the internal forces of the country which it is ruling, it could not survive, and its short life would be one unbroken series of civil strife." In Russia it has thus far been saved by the opposition of outside powers which unites the country. Repression, the author maintains, defeats its own ends. It creates bureaucracies and machines, and finally develops into a policy of extermination. The only policy which will guide a revolution safely and swiftly into democracy is one "of political freedom, of moral courage, of vigilant reason."

A socialist community, continues the author, "cannot be created artificially by political disfranchisement. . . . When we have socialism we shall have the disfranchisement of parasites because there will be none; we shall not have to undertake the absolutely impossible task of dividing the service-giving sheep from the parasitical goats for the purpose of the franchise."

The Soviet System

The pyramidal character of the soviet system presents dangers. Representatives to local soviets, elected directly, select in turn delegates to soviets still higher up, and "before we have this system of representatives electing representatives carried on three or four times, we reach a central authority whose representative value is nil, and which has only a very remote contact with the mass of the people. It is, in reality, a dictatorship made permanent."

Moreover, under the soviet form members of local governments are likely to be elected for the vote they give for the higher soviet rather than with an eye to their qualifications as local legislators or administrators. This system of indirect representation has the further disadvantage of making corruption easy. While the present revolutionist is likely to be active and pure, his successor will not necessarily be either.

Occupational Representation

Advocates of the soviet, occupational or industrial form of representation have a case. Industrial interests should be represented. The Second Chamber in England, now The House of Lords, should be reconstituted along soviet lines. To this chamber, guilds or unions, professions and trades, classes and sections, could elect their representatives as the Scottish peers now elect theirs. This chamber "would enjoy the power of free and authoritative debate (no mean power); it could initiate legislation." However, a government composed exclusively of representatives of trades or professions is likely to produce patchwork legislation—legislation with a view to assisting a host of narrow interests, but not with a view to safeguarding the interests of society as a whole.

Parliament

Parliamentary government has faults. Labor has not learned how to run the machine of government. Labor members of parliament have not, as have the capitalists, learned team work. And they are too often selected because of their status in local bodies, not because of a training which fits them for effective parliamentary work in behalf of labor.

"The sub-division of power that is required [to make government more effective] is not a vertical one on the lines of trade, . . . but one which will strengthen local autonomy, bring politics back into touch with life, make the representative system representative on matters in which groups of people take an interest, encourage the national, racial, and district characteristics to develop themselves in harmony with each other."

Revolution

Dealing with revolution, the author declares that, "when people impatiently demand action, they ought to see first of all that the conditions of action are present; if they are not they should help to create them. Only when that is done can they reasonably blame leaders."

Mr. Macdonald believes that, if a labor government "has the country behind it, it will stand no humbug in parliament; if it has not the country behind it, it can neither work parliament nor create a revolution. . . . A revolution . . . is the road of maximum difficulty; it is the occasion both of minimum confidence and cooperation and of the necessity of concentrating power in the hands of the few. Only reckless folly would deliberately choose this way of minimum chance of bringing socialism about and of establishing the socialist state."

It is to be hoped that this contribution may stimulate a further discussion on these important questions of the technique of revolution.

Book Notes

Karl Marx. Achille Loria. N. Y.: Thomas Seltzer. 1920. 163 pp.

This book is a brilliant appraisal of the life and works of the "Father of Modern Socialism" by the famous Italian sociologist and Professor of Political Economy of the University of Turin. Loria, while critical of a number of the Marxian theories, characterizes the socialist leader as "the Darwin of technology."

The book contains an excellent foreword by Eden and Cedar Paul, the translators, who present to the readers the economic views of Loria.

A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain. Sidney and Beatrice Webb. N. Y.: Longmans, Green and Co. 1920. 364 pp.

This volume was written by two of Britain's most prominent economists in response to a request to submit to the International Socialist Congress reports upon "the constitution that should be adopted by any nation desirous of organizing its life upon socialist principles." Little attention is here devoted to an indictment of capitalism, which, "as a coherent whole, has demonstrably broken down."

Part I contains a brief survey of the extent to which we have thus far developed democracies

of consumers and producers. Part II, the authors' chief contribution, is devoted to "the Cooperative Commonwealth of Tomorrow." Here the Webbs attempt to show how the local and national governments must be entirely reconstructed so as to adjust themselves to the demands of industrial democracy. They discuss many of the problems of socialized industry, particularly the questions of producers' and consumers' control, voluntary cooperation and the transitional control of profit-making enterprises.

The volume marks the beginning of a new epoch in the socialist literature of Anglo-Saxon countries, an epoch devoted to the actual working out of the principles of industrial democracy. It deserves the careful study of every person who desires to see a better system, and who is anxious that that system be inaugurated with the maximum of intelligence, the minimum of pain.

The Frontier of Control. A Study of British Workshop Conditions. Carter L. Goodrich. With an Introduction by R. H. Tawney. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920. 277 pp.

The object of this book is to show how much control over British industry the rank and file of workers and their organizations actually exercise. What say do they have over the questions of hiring and discharge, the appointment of foremen, the methods of payments, over technical improvements and other problems of shop control? What growing aspirations have they in regard to such questions? The book shows a remarkable shift in the workers' demand from a desire for more money and fewer hours of labor to a desire for a greatly increased share in the management of industry. The line between "management" and "labor" has become ever less distinct. The study forms an excellent basis for generalizations concerning complete self-government in industry.

The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia. Third Edition Revised and Enlarged. With a Supplement, The Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia, by S. Kaplun. N. Y.: The Russian Soviet Government Bureau. 1920. 98 pp.

This small pamphlet gives to the student of Russian affairs more real insight into the nature of the Russian Soviet government than do many volumes of vague comment which have recently issued from the press. What is the official attitude of the Soviet government toward compulsory labor, the right to work, the question of labor distribution, the transfer and discharge of workers, remuneration of labor, efficiency and labor, child labor, hours of labor, sanitary protection, female labor, etc.? The answers to these questions are here given.

Bolshevism: Practice and Theory. Bertrand Russell. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920. 192 pp.

This volume is an attempt by the brilliant British philosopher and mathematician to describe present-day Russia under communist rule and to appraise the soundness of the bolshevik theory. The author, while maintaining that a communistic system of industry is the hope of the future, takes exception to the tactics of the Soviet government. "The war and its sequel," he concludes, "have proved the destructiveness of capitalism; let us see to it that the next epoch does not prove the still greater destructiveness of communism, but rather its power to heal the wounds which the old evil system has inflicted upon the human spirit." Most of the essays in the book, previously appearing in British and American magazines, have led to heated attacks and warm commendation.

The Meaning of Socialism. J. Bruce Glasier. With an Introduction by J. A. Hobson. N. Y.: Thomas Seltzer. 1920. 249 pp.

A delightfully written book dealing with the fundamentals of socialism. The author—the late chairman of the Independent Labor Party of England—vividly describes some of the evils of the present order of society, grapples with such questions as the reward of labor and of genius, freedom of work and education under socialism, and analyzes the extent to which the principles of socialism have been incorporated into present-day society. While the book contains no new departure in socialist thought, the author's fine literary gift, his intimate knowledge of the socialist movement and his inspiring idealism make the volume an excellent first aid to the student of socialism.

Communism and Christianism. Bishop William Montgomery Brown. Galion, Ohio: Bradford-Brown Educational Co. 1920. 184 pp.

The author rejects supernatural religion, and accepts Marxian socialism as the gospel of salvation.

100%. The Story of a Patriot. Upton Sinclair. Pasadena, Calif.: Pub. by author. 1920. 329 pp.

The chief figure of this story is a spy and *agent provocateur* in the class war. His adventures vividly illustrate many episodes in the present persecution of "reds."

Personnel Administration: Its Principles and Practice. Ordway Tead and Henry C. Metcalf. N. Y.: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1920. 538 pp.

A comprehensive statement of the labor policy of the most enlightened employers and of students of labor. It deals with such varied subjects as method of employment, health and safety, education, research and shop committees, and supplies a wealth of illustration and an excellent bibliography.

College Notes

Intercollegiate Conference on Labor and Radical Movements

Special attention is called to the Twelfth Annual Convention of the I. S. S., announced in the advertising columns of this issue. We are this year enlarging the scope of our convention to include all college organizations interested in social questions. Our purpose is to assist students to come into active touch with the real problems of labor and radical movements. We therefore call upon all student groups to send representatives to this conference, to help us work out a practical program for the colleges. We also welcome all individuals interested in these questions.

* * *

The Adelphi chapter is holding regular bimonthly meetings. Evans Clark addressed this group recently on "The Political Outlook for Socialism."

The Social Science Club of the University of California has just been reorganized, with a paid up membership of twenty-five, and the secretary writes that prospects are very favorable for a successful year. The club has already held two meetings, one being a symposium on "The Socialization of the British Coal Mines," in which students from India, China, the Philippines, England, and the United States participated. The officers are Bevier Robinson, president; Lillian Brand, vice-president; Reginald F. Saunders, secretary-treasurer.

A group of students at Columbia University have been granted an I. S. S. charter. Marie Bloomfield of Barnard is the secretary of the new organization.

Vera Friedland is organizing a chapter of the I. S. S. at Goucher College.

The I. S. S. chapter at Hamline University in St. Paul has just been reorganized with the help of Professor Thomas P. Beyer. There is already a paid up membership of thirty-three, and the group expects a successful year. Leila Asher is the secretary-treasurer.

The Harvard Liberal Club is continuing its excellent work under the leadership of Horace B. Davis. Early in December the club arranged a dinner followed by a symposium in which Harry Laidler represented the socialist viewpoint, Dr. Antoinette Konikow the communist, and J. T. ("Red") Doran the syndicalist.

A "Seekers' Society" has been formed at the University of Minnesota. Meetings have been held this year on "The Italian Situation," "The Syndicalist Movement," "Trades Unions and the Revolution," "Bourgeois Democracy."

The University of Michigan chapter has held successful meetings for I. Paul Taylor, Dr. Henry de Man, and J. T. ("Red") Doran.

The Radcliffe I. S. S. chapter has combined with the Liberal Club. Over one hundred students have joined. So far this group has held meetings addressed by Robert Dunn on "The Spy System in Industry," H. W. L. Dana on "The Labor Problem in France," and John Graham Brooks on "The Cooperative Movement." Edna Cers is president and Belle Stafford, secretary-treasurer.

Due to the efforts of Conover Slack in arranging a socialist meeting just before election, addressed by Robert Whittaker and Elinor Byrns, enough interest was aroused at Princeton University to form a Society for the Study of Socialism. The organization has decided to have no outside affiliations for the present. Norman Thomas addressed the first meeting of this group on "A Practical View of Socialism." In subsequent meetings one more socialist speaker, and two anti-socialist speakers will present their views, and a fifth meeting will be given over to a debate. T. C. McCeachim was elected president of the society, and B. Carter, secretary.

Evans Clark is scheduled to address a meeting of the Princeton Cliosophic Society on socialism, the latter part of December.

A number of students in Virginia Union University, at Richmond, have organized a Club for the Study of Socialism and secured an I. S. S. charter. Thomas L. Dabney is chairman, James W. Ivy, secretary.

The University of Wisconsin chapter has recently held successful meetings for William Z. Foster and Dr. Henry de Man.

* * *

Harry Laidler has spoken this month at Smith, Harvard, Radcliffe, and Wellesley, besides addressing the I. S. S. Alumni Chapter and several other city groups in Boston. The Boston Alumni Chapter has been holding an interesting series of meetings on the following subjects: "The Economic Interpretation of History," "The Class Struggle," "The Abolition of the Wage System," "The Socialistic State," "The Mechanics of Socialism," "Socialism and Religion." "Socialism and Art."

Among the speakers who have addressed the Saturday Camaraderies of the New York Alumni Chapter this year are Arturo Giovannitti, Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence, Edward Alsworth Ross, Charles W. Wood, J. T. ("Red") Doran, and Louis Waldman. The N. Y. A. C. arranged a series of supper classes beginning November 11th, on "Whither is the Labor Movement Tending?" Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, A. J. Muste, James J. Bagley, Edward I. Hanna, and others have spoken. J. G. S.

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